

REPORT NO. 3: March 29, 1985

FROM HISTORIC PROPERTIES

The purpose of this report is to provide a chronological chart which outlines the patterns of occupancy and land use at Oxon Hill Manor between 1710-11 and 1895. The chart is accompanied by an analytical commentary which assesses the material provided in the chart by placing it within the larger context of the history of Prince George's County. The chart will indicate what is known about occupancy and land use on specific dates or during specific periods, as well as with whom the property was associated at the time. I have made no explicit attempt to offer a detailed synthesis of my findings; rather, I have summarized data from various sources, suggesting possible interpretations and periodization.

A Note on Sources and Research to Date

Report No. 2, February 12, 1985, focused on the information to be obtained from available cartographic data, with some attention to data from deeds, court records, genealogical sources, and scattered secondary sources. This report adds data obtained from more extensive research into land records, court records, census records, private papers, and various secondary sources.

From the land records I have been able to construct a more complete history of occupancy and agricultural practices at the Oxon Hill property, as will be indicated in both the chart and the commentary to follow. Court records have provided additional data on the economic and social status of individuals associated with Oxon Hill. Among these materials, called probate records, are inventories, administrator's accounts by the executors of the estates of the deceased, and

wills. As yet I have only partially surveyed the records of such bodies as the chancery, provincial and county courts. Research into court records will follow a cyclical pattern of returning to the material as individuals associated with Oxon Hill can be identified in the various sources being utilized for this study. Also, I have not yet had the opportunity to research all of the individuals who appear to be associated with the property. The same procedure must be followed with the probate and land records already mentioned.

Census data from 1776 to 1880 has offered extremely useful information on occupancy of Oxon Hill and on agricultural practices at the estate. The agricultural censuses of 1860-1880 are especially valuable for land use data. Census data before 1850 is significantly less detailed than the latter years, and the 1830 Maryland census has been lost. In this report I have included considerable analysis of land use practices after the Civil War. Of particular importance is the fact that several Oxon Hill tenants can be identified in the 1880 agricultural census, thereby permitting some analysis of their socio-economic status as of that date.

Private papers have been the outstanding disappointment during the initial research process. The Addison family papers at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore contain little material of value for the history of the Oxon Hill Manor site. The papers deal extensively with the land transactions of the Oxon Hill Addison's relatives in the late Eighteenth Century, and with Addison family members in the Nineteenth Century. The papers contain virtually no information on the occupancy, agricultural practices, buildings, or geographical outlines of Oxon Hill Manor. Moreover, what little useful information

on Oxon Hill that is contained in the papers has already been partially integrated into a book entitled One Hundred Years Ago or the Life and Times of Walter Dulany Addison, 1769-1848 and published in 1895 by an Addison descendent, Elizabeth Hesselius Murray. At this time it appears that private papers for reconstructing the history of Oxon Hill are minimal. This is apparently a typical problem in historical research for all of Prince George's County, in sharp contrast to the survival of an enormous body of public data on the county (See Donald McCauley, "The Limits of Change in the Tobacco South: An Economic and Social Analysis of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1840-1860," MA Thesis, University of Maryland, 1973; Gregory A. Stiverson, Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland, Baltimore, 1977). The fact that the Prince George's County courthouse never suffered a fire explains, in part, the survival of Prince George's county records.

I found no private papers associated with the Berry family, owners of the Oxon Hill estate from 1810 to 1888. The chancery court case, #1208, dealing with Thomas E. Berry's insanity and the trusteeship of the property, remains the single most useful source. Future research into court proceedings may turn up additional data on the Berrys as well as the Addisons. Again, as information is obtained, other documentation at the Historical Society and other repositories may become relevant. wills
tax records

Secondary sources have provided some extremely useful material on the historical context of the Oxon Hill region, especially regarding Prince George's County as a unit. Such data offers a backdrop against which to analyze site-specific information. To date I have not researched the wide array of relevant secondary material in depth; rather,

I have examined these sources for clues as to useful primary sources, bibliography, and where appropriate, historical context. In general, the secondary sources treat the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in much greater depth and with significantly greater sophistication than the Nineteenth Century. Much of the best data comes from the research of students who began employing the new social and economic history methods in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their research has focused heavily on colonial Maryland-the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries to 1776-and Nineteenth Century Maryland remains poorly studied. It should be noted, however, that as individuals associated with Oxon Hill can be identified, some secondary sources will become more relevant.

Cartographic data has revealed a good deal about the Oxon Hill area, but much less about the site itself. I have attempted to locate the 1879 Latimer survey (see Report #2)-as have several other researchers-without success. I plan to search for a survey made about 1809 by George Fenwick for Walter Dulany Addison. This report includes both the 1767 resurvey plat and the 1784 plat, both mentioned in Report #2 but not yet available. The 1767 plat (see Map 1 in the Commentary Section) indicates the exact boundaries of the Oxon Hill Manor as established by Thomas Addison (c.1740-1774). It was made up of parts of several original land grants, totaling 3,663 acres. The plat from 1784-85^(See Map 2, Commentary Section) shows the boundaries of the 828-acre dower received by Addison's wife, Rebecca Dulany Addison (1750-1829) at the time of his death. Unfortunately, the plat does not offer details on the manor house site. More will be said about these plats in the Commentary Section of this report.

My research into a wide array of land records has not produced additional cartographic data of much value. I have focused my research on the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries and must still examine some of the records from the later period. Earlier researchers discovered no plats among these later deeds, but I will survey the deeds for information which might be included with the purchases of various parcels of the estate in the 1880s. I will also research land records for possible leases by the Berry family to their tenants. Lease research offers less potential than sale research, since leases tended to be unrecorded oral arrangements. The lack of private papers reduces the possibility of discovering alternative sources on tenants.

Potentially helpful materials available at the Library of Congress are the records of John Glassford & Company (1753-1834), a business ~~firm~~ firm which operated stores at Piscataway, Bladensburg, and other Prince George's County, Maryland, and Virginia locations. The documents contain ledgers, daybooks, journals, and other financial records which may indicate dealings with the Addison, Berry or other relevant families at Oxon Hill. As yet I have no information as to how the Oxon Hill occupants may have marketed their tobacco, livestock, or other crops.

To summarize the research process to date, a few general observations might be helpful. At this time it appears that private papers offer little potential, owing the fact that few have survived in Prince George's County. The lack of private papers significantly reduces the potential availability of site-specific data which is often obtained from such sources as plantation day books, crude maps, etc. Public records might fill some gaps and I am researching probate and other court records, land transactions, tax records (tax assessments, rent rolls,

debt books), inventories, and other public sources. Census data has been and will be very useful, especially for the period from 1850 to 1880. Again, insofar as individuals associated in some manner with Oxon Hill can be identified (owners, tenants, neighbors), the census materials will become even more valuable.

Chronological Chart of Oxon Hill

- 1674 - Col. John Addison (d.1705-1796) arrives in Maryland
- Source: Lois Carr and David Jordan, Maryland's Revolution in Government, New York, 1974, pp.232-234.
- 1705-1706 - death of Col. John Addison
- his son, Col. Thomas Addison (1669-1727) his heir
- 6,478 1/2 acres of property
- estate valued at £1,840 personal property
- Source: Carr and Jordan, pp.232-234
- 1710-1711 - construction of Oxon Hill Manor by Col. Thomas Addison on land acquired by his father
- Source: Guy Castle, "New School at Oxon Hill Recalls Glories of Old Prince George's," Upper Marlboro Enquirer Gazette, October 18, 1957.
- 1727 - death of Col. Thomas Addison
- his son, John Addison (1713-1764), heir
- estate has 7 quarters, the Great House tract, a mill, and a "store at landing"
- 75 slaves, including 23 at the Great House. Two mulatto slaves at Great House listed as "carpenter and cooper." Also three indentured servants, one listed as "gardener."
- £3,657 personal property
- slaves (£1,867) are 51% of value of personal property
- an overseer at Barnaby Quarter
- 289 cattle, with 63 at the Great House
- 14 horses, 2 coach horses, with 11 of the horses and the 2 coach horses at the Great House
- 48 sheep, all at the Great House
- no hogs
- Great House has 8 rooms, 2 "closets," passage, cellar kitchen, garret, little shed room out of the kitchen, 2 rooms over the kitchen, Madam Addison's store, another store, "negro room," and another little room "in the shade" (in the shed?).
Source: Maryland Hall of Records (MHR), Inventories, 1727.
- 1764 - death of John Addison
- his son, Thomas Addison (c.1740-1774), heir
- 1765 - estate has 3 slave quarters plus Great House tract
- 41 slaves, with 24 at the Great House. Two listed as carpenters.
- £2,363 personal estate
- slaves (£1,362) are 58% value of personal estate
- 50 cattle, location unclear in document
- 20 horses, with no "coach horses" specified
- 66 sheep, all at "Jack's Quarter"
- 98 hogs, location unclear
- Great House has 7 or 8 rooms (designation unclear), 3 closets, passage, chamber, cellar, kitchen, "Spinning room."
- milk house, meat house, garden
- Source: MHR, Inventories, 1765

1767 - Thomas Addison marries Rebecca Dulany, daughter of prominent Maryland planter and politician
 - Source: Effie Gwynn Bowie, Across the Years in Prince George's County, Baltimore, 1975, pp.33,37.

- Thomas Addison's "Resurvey" establishes bounds of "Oxon Hill Manor" (See Map 1 in Commentary Section of this report). Estate contains 3,663 acres.

- NW corner of estate borders on Oxon Creek (aka St. John's Creek) and S. border runs along Hynson Branch. Addison's brother, John Addison, lives to the E. on Goodwill and on parts of Discontent, Locust Thicket. Another brother, the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789) lives in Hart Park, a 300-acre tract. Thomas Addison owns the other 610 acres of Hart Park, which is included in Oxon Hill Manor. Henry Rozer, a wealthy planter, neighbor to S.

- only a relatively small part of Oxon Hill Manor (approx. 1.2 miles) borders the Potomac River. Susquehanna Creek marked as running from property into Potomac on W. side (note double lines).

- irregular shape, but Oxon Hill Manor approximately 2 miles N-S and 3 miles E-W

- Source: MHR, Patented Certificate #1590, 1767 (March 25, 1766)

1773 - John Addison, brother of Thomas Addison, loses his Potomac estate, "the Lodge," to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, husband of Thomas Addison's sister, Eleanor Addison. John Addison's estate being sold for debts.

- Source: Anne Y. Zimmer, Jonathan Boucher: Loyalist in Exile, Detroit, 1978, pp.142,342.

1774 - death of Thomas Addison

- his son, Walter Dulany Addison (1769-1848) inherits Oxon Hill Manor as a minor; his wife, Rebecca Dulany Addison, receives 828 acres of the manor as a dower which includes the manor house. The dower was described in 1784 as: (See Map 2 in Commentary Section)

89 acres of "cleared hills, including the house, gardens, orchard and land not arable," plus 179 1/2 acres of "swamp," 205 3/4 acres of "woodland, exclusive of swamp," and 353 3/4 acres of "arable land"

- Source: MHR, Chancery Papers 128, 1784-85
 Bowie, pp.32-42

James M. Magruder, Jr., Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts: Wills, Accounts and Inventories, 1772-1777, Baltimore, 1968, p.11.

1775 - inventory of estate shows 2 quarters plus the Oxon Hill plantation.

- 109 slaves, with 60 at the manor house. Manor house slaves include a shoemaker, a carter, a gardener, a midwife, 3 carpenters, a coachman, and a "joiner." A slave carpenter also listed at "Clarkson's Quarter." "Mr. Lee's Quarter" lists only slaves, no animals.

- £5275 personal estate, more than double John Addison's personal estate in 1765.

- slaves (£2905) are 55% of the value of the personal estate
- 94 cattle, with 69 at the manor house
- 4 oxen at the manor house
- 28 horses, with 20 at the manor house; 4 coach horses at the manor house
- 120 sheep, all at the manor house; 208 lbs wool on hand
- 101 hogs, with 49 at the manor house
- Great House has 7 rooms, 2 passages (upstairs and downstairs), 3 closets, chamber, porch closet, overseer's house (listed between yellow room closet and kitchen), kitchen, back porch (possibly attached to kitchen), cellar.
- Source: MHR, Inventories, 1775.

1776 - Rebecca Addison, age 26, listed in Prince George's County census as householder possessing 67 slaves.

- ? - Daniel Morris, age 33, at same residence (overseer?)
- also at same residence a woman aged 45, and 3 female children (5, 9, and 8 years) and 4 male children (11, 6, 7, and 1 years)
- separate listing for "Mrs. Addison's Quarter," with 29 slaves

- Source: 1776: Prince George's County, List of Inhabitants in St. John's and Prince George's Parish, in Gaius Brumbaugh, ed., Maryland Records Colonial, Revolutionary County, and Church, 2 vols., Baltimore, 1915.

1778 - Rebecca Addison, widow of Thomas Addison, marries Thomas Hawkins Hanson

1783 - John Hanson, President of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, dies at Oxon Hill while visiting Thomas Hanson.

- Source: The Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., July 31, 1955. *! Surely there must be a better source.*

1784 - Overton Carr, guardian of 15-year old Walter Dulany Addison, sues Thomas Hawkins Hanson, Leonard Marbury, and Nicholas Lowe for mismanagement of Addison's property (see Report #2, February 12, 1985 for more details)

- reference to Oxon Hill tenants and to a "Douglass" (neighbor or tenant?)

- Thomas Hanson rents Leonard Marbury, for 5 years beginning January 1, 1785, "the Oxon Hill house, garden, orchard, and all the improvements which are to the left of the road as it now runs by Cooper Jack's to the ferry commonly called Clifford's Ferry that lies within the bounds of his wife's dower...."

- a "Luke" Marbury listed in 1776 census as married, age 31, 3 children, 11 slaves

- Nicholas Lowe listed in 1776 census as married, age 28, 4 children, 8 slaves

- Overton Carr listed in 1776 census as married, age 25, 14 dependents, 62 slaves

- Walter Dulany Addison leaves Maryland to attend school in England.

- Source: MHR, Chancery Papers 128, 1784-85
1776 Census

Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, One Hundred Years Ago or the Life and Times of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison, 1769-1848. Philadelphia, 1895.

1787-92 - Oxon Hill Manor house rented to Nathaniel Washington BS

- Source: Washington Evening Star, August 3, 1912.

1788 - letter by Rebecca Addison Hanson marked "Oxon Hill;" reference to recent death of the "old gardener," Mr. Oldney

- Source: Murray, p.72

1790 - census lists Walter Dulany Addison as owner of 20 slaves

- Zachariah Berry (see 1810 on chart) owner of 48 slaves

- Source: 1790 Census: Maryland

1792 - Walter Dulany Addison marries Elizabeth Dulany Hesselius (1775-1808), daughter of John Hesselius the artist

- he and Elizabeth, along with his brother John Addison and his wife (Sarah Leitch), move into Battersea, a house to the south of Oxon Hill near St. John's church on Broad Creek. John's home at his "Gisborough" estate being rented at the time. Battersea is renamed "Harmony Hall" because, according to Murray, the two couples were so happy.

- Source: Murray, p.105

Bowie, pp.32-42

Elizabeth Fisk Clapp, Charlton Merrick Gillet, and Romaine McI. Randall, Maryland Gardens and Houses, Baltimore, 1938, p.7.

1793 - Walter Dulany Addison and Elizabeth move into Oxon Hill manor, currently being occupied by a Mr. Washington*

- reference to Addison's inheriting 3,000-4,000 acres of land and 25 slaves (no specifics given)

- reference to "many tenants" at Oxon Hill in the 1790s

- Source: Murray, p.136

Maryland Historical Society Name File: Addison, 1793

1794? - Walter Dulany Addison gives approximately 400 acres of Oxon Hill, called "Hart Park," to his mother, Rebecca Addison Hanson; Murray states: "Owing to the mismanagement of his stepfather," Addison's mother's estate "had become seriously embarrassed," so Walter Addison gave the land to his mother

- Source: Murray, pp.89-90

1795 - John Addison Sr. (Walter Addison's uncle, probably, not his brother John) forced to sell his household goods, slaves, debts, etc. to William Baker, trustee appointed by the court on behalf of Addison's creditors

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 4, p.84.

1797 - Walter Dulany Addison sells, for £300 and out of "love and affection," 500 acres of Oxon Hill Manor to his brother Henry Addison. Parts of Locust Thicket and Discontent tracts of Oxon Hill, adjoining Hynson Branch

- reference to previous sale of part of Oxon Hill to Peter Savary

- Walter Dulany Addison sells part of Oxon Hill Manor, and part of his tract Force, to Nicolas Lingan. Total of 269 3/4 acres, but Oxon Hill portion acreage not specified. Located to N. and NW

of manor house area, along Oxen Creek, and N. and E. of Oxon Hill Ferry landing, now called "Thomas' Ferry."

reference to Elizabeth Addison's forfeiting dower rights

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 6, p.173, October 6, 1797
- MHR, Land Records JRM 6, p.86, October 27, 1797

1798 - Federal Tax Assessment lists Walter Dulany Addison's Oxon Hill property. A 2-story brick house, 66 X 36 feet, 45 windows, 3 outbuildings on 1 1/2 acres. House valued at \$2,000.

- the 3 outbuildings include a kitchen (24 X 30 feet) and 2 stables (each 21 X 30 feet)

- 20 "dwelling houses," all of frame construction and valued at less than \$100 each. Since the manor had only 14 slaves on this date, these were probably tenant houses more than slave quarters

typical? - no reference to barns or tobacco houses

- 2522 acres total

- Source: MHR, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince George's County

- Zachariah Berry, residing at an estate called "Outlet and Concord Enlarged" in Western Branch Hundred, also listed in 1798 Federal Tax Assessment. He owned 64 slaves, a house and 7 outbuildings on 1 1/2 acres (value \$2250), 9 tobacco barns, 6 "dwelling houses" on a separate tract (total value \$250), a 2-story overshot mill with miller's house, and a 2-story frame tenant house and tobacco house on a further tract. His total acreage was 2553 5/6.

- Source: MHR, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince George's County

census - Walter Dulany Addison leases part of Oxon Hill Manor to John and Elsworth Bayne. The tract contains 800 acres and includes "the plantation on which John Bayne now lives." The lease is for £500 and runs to the death of the longest-living survivor. Restrictions include keeping the houses, buildings, fences, and improvements in "tenantable repair."

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 6, p.351, May 9, 1798
- MHR, Land Records JRM 16, p.90, February 1, 1814

- John Bayne listed in 1798 Federal Tax Assessment as living in a house valued at \$150 and owning 13 slaves; Elsworth Bayne owns 7 slaves.

- Source: MHR, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince George's County

1800 - Walter Dulany Addison owns 7 slaves

- Zachariah Berry (see 1810 on chart) owns 88 slaves

- Walter Dulany Addison has begun freeing slaves, as indicated in a 1798 will in the possession of Murray when she wrote her book in 1895. Emancipation to be gradual, women becoming free at age 20 and men at age 25.

- Source: Murray, pp.133, 192
- 1800 Census: Maryland

- 1801 - Walter Dulany Addison frees (w) slaves, one of whom is rented to Frederick Koonen, tavernkeeper at Piscataway
- Addison leases "marsh land" of Oxon Hill Manor along the Potomac River to John Davies. Lease "bounded on the one side by the said river and on the other by the fields of Susquehanah (Creek) and Douglass." Davies obligated to build a bank from the mouth of the Susquehanah to the fence at the "Thomas Ferry house" by 1805.
 - reference to lease of some of Addison's "marsh land" with the Potomac on one side and "the fields of Middle Neck" on the other to Joseph Thomas
 - reference to lease arrangement near mouth of the Susquehanah to Francis Kirby; reference to road rights to now demised "Wood Landing."
 - Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 8, p.476, April 9, 1801
MHR, Land Records JRM 8, p.570, July 7, 1801
- 1801-1804 - Walter Dulany Addison repurchases Hart Park tract (given to his mother in 1794) from Thomas Hanson and, in 1802 or 1803 leaves Oxon Hill to take up residence at Hart Park. In 1804 Addison opens a school at the new residence.
- Source: Murray, pp.119-120
- 1805 - Walter Dulany Addison sells 15 acres of Oxon Hill Manor to Francis Edward Hall Rozer. This land recently or currently rented to Joseph Edelen as a mill seat (no details).
- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 11, p.238, December 5, 1805
- 1806 - reference to lease of tract of land across from Alexandria, called "the Ferry," to Joseph Thomas. Approximately 20 acres.
- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 11, p.374, January 4, 1806
- 1807 - Walter Dulany Addison buys, from Thomas Hawkins Hanson and Rebecca Hanson, the approximately 820-acre dower (828 acres) which Rebecca Hanson received from her late husband. Cost of £2200 Maryland currency.
- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 12, p.205, March 12, 1807
- 1808 - Thomas Grafton Addison (1771-1826), Walter Dulany Addison's brother, confirms sale of 500 acres of the estate of Henry Addison another brother, to William Marbury for £2500. Sale at auction to pay debts. This is the 500 acres of the original Oxon Hill estate (1767) which Walter Dulany Addison sold to Henry Addison in 1797.
- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 12, p.462, January 25, 1808
- 1810 - Walter Dulany Addison sells Zachariah Berry 1,328 acres of Oxon Hill Manor, including the manor house. Land and house sold in two separate tracts of 879 and 449 acres.
- reference to part of Oxon Hill Manor's being sold to a Dr. DeButts (no details)
 - reference to a recent survey of Oxon Hill Manor by George Fenwick
 - 1810 census indicates Zachariah Berry owner of 72 slaves
 - Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 13, p.625, 627, March 16 and 17, 1810.

1814 - Walter Dulany Addison mortgages the 800-acre tract leased to the Baynes in 1798

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 16, p.90, February 1, 1814

1815 - Walter Dulany Addison sells Henry Bryan 1/2 acre of Oxon Hill Manor. Property lies E. of main road leading from the Lodge by Philip Spaldings (no details)

- reference to nearby property of Mrs. (Zennaty?), Henry Bryan, and George Beale

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 16, p.435, 509, 670, September 19, September 20, May 13, 1815

1817 - Walter Dulany Addison terminates lease with Elsworth Bayne (John Bayne deceased) and sells 2 tracts from Oxon Hill Manor totalling 267 acres. No other details.

- Elsworth Bayne built a home at this location, soon after this 1817 purchase, and named the house Mount Salubria. It became the residence of Dr. John Henry Bayne in 1841, the year he married Harriet Addison (possibly an Addison descendent).

- Source: MHR, Land Records JRM 17, pp.146,242, January 1, 1817
Clapp, Gillet, and Randall, p.6

1820 - Zachariah Berry owner of 60 slaves in Bladensburg District of Spaldings District (i.e. not at Oxon Hill)

- Source: 1820 Census: Maryland

1840 - Zachariah Berry owner of 70 slaves in District #1 or 2 (not separated) of Prince George's County

- Thomas (E.) Berry, Zachariah's son and heir of Oxon Hill in 1845, owner of 26 slaves in District #1 or 2. Berry in his 20s (age 25).

- John Bayne owner of 11 slaves in Spaldings District #6 (Oxon Hill located in Spaldings)

- Elsworth Bayne owner of 15 slaves in Spaldings

- Source: 1840 Census: Maryland

1846 - Zachariah Berry's personal estate valued at \$26,435 in inventory of his estate following his death at age 97 in 1845. He owned 75 slaves, valued at \$18,192, or 65% of the total value of his personal estate. 50,000 lbs of tobacco on hand, valued at \$2500.

census - reference to Berry's tenants, Joseph Soper and Levi Ridgeway, and to Thomas Lowe as overseer. (Tenants and overseer probably at Berry's Concord plantation rather than Oxon Hill).

- Source: MHR, Inventories, JH1, p.126, April 8, 1845
MHR, Administrator's Accounts, PC 3, p.245, April 8, 1846

1850 - Thomas E. Berry (1815-1879) listed as "farmer," age 35, in Queen Anne's District of Prince George County (see Map 4 of Commentary Section). Berry owned 33 slaves and was married to his niece, Elizabeth Berry, daughter of his elder brother, Zachariah Berry Jr.

- Source: 1850 Census: Maryland
Bowie, p.61.

1860 - Thomas E. Berry owner of 46 slaves in Queen Anne's District (slave census). Berry owner of 55 slaves in Spaldings District (slave census) and owner of 1600 acres and farm valued at \$60,000 in Spaldings (agricultural census). Berry does not appear on the population census of Spaldings, but on that of Queen Anne's, indicating that he resides at his Queen Anne's property.

- Source: 1860 Census: Maryland

1870 - Thomas E. Berry listed in Queen Anne's District with farm valued at \$108,960 and \$2000 personal property.

- T. Owen Berry, son of Thomas E. Berry, married, age 26, with 2 children, listed in Spaldings District with estate of 2150 acres valued at \$100,000

- Richard Streeks, age 57, married to Eliza Streeks and with son David Streeks, farm laborer, listed in 1870 census. All three individuals appear as Oxon Hill tenants in the 1880s.

- James A. Gregory, also a tenant in the 1880s, listed as a "mill-right," no real property and \$500 personal property.

- Source: 1870 Census: Maryland

1878 - Thomas E. Berry appears on 1878 Hopkins map (see Map 3 in Commentary Section) in the Queen Anne's District with 2500 acres and a "Residence."

- T. Owen Berry listed as "farmer" in Oxon Hill District (1878 Maryland Directory)

- James E. Bowie listed as "occupant" of Oxon Hill house (Map 3)

- Source: 1878 Hopkins Atlas
Maryland Directory, 1878

1879-1888 - death of Thomas E. Berry (1879) one year after being declared legally insane (1878)

- sale of parts of Oxon Hill Manor

- construction of new potato house on tenement of Richard Streeks (1884)

- construction of new well close to manor house (1884)

- (for details see Report #2, February 12, 1985)

1880 - James E. Bowie, Richard W. Streeks, George W. Lanham, and Henry Butler, known to be Oxon Hill tenants at some point between 1878 and 1888, appear on 1880 agricultural census

- Source: 1880 Census: Maryland

1887 - James E. Bowie listed as "butcher" in 1887 Maryland Directory and State Gazeteer

- Samuel Taylor Suit, purchaser of Oxon Hill in 1888, listed as a Distiller in Suitland. Owns a large fruit farm of 600 acres.

- Source: Maryland Directory and State Gazeteer, 1887

1888-1895 - sale and several resales of Oxon Hill Manor (for details see Report #2, February 12, 1985)

1895 - Oxon Hill manor destroyed by fire. The house is vacant at the time

- Source: Castle, 1957

COMMENTARY

The Addison Years, 1674-1810

The chronological chart provides some of the data for the following discussion. Additional information will be incorporated as I proceed.

The Addisons, lead by Colonel John Addison (d.1705-06) and his son, Colonel Thomas Addison (1669-1727), built a large estate very quickly in Maryland. John Addison's 6,478 1/2 acres, acquired between 1674 and 1706, expanded to 14,281 by the death of Thomas in 1727, and Thomas was able to leave his son, John Addison (1713-1764) an estate of 3,863 acres. John's inheritance included parts of what would later be surveyed by his son, Thomas (c.1740-1774), as the 3,663-acre Oxon Hill Manor. John Addison's younger brother, another Thomas (1714-1770), inherited "Gisborough" and three other tracts totalling 1746 acres, plus half of five small tracts along Oxon Branch (half of 1264 acres). Another brother, the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789), received the other half of the five tracts plus 1517 acres, some of which was located to the north on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River and at the Falls of the Potomac. A fourth brother, Anthony Addison, received 2000 acres, all to the north of Oxon Hill. An additional 2300 acres to the north on the Monocacy Branch of the Potomac was divided among Thomas, Henry, and Anthony (Maryland Historical Society, Addison Family Papers).

A comparison of the 1727 inventory of the personal property of Col. Thomas Addison with the 1765 inventory of his son, John, indicates some decline in the wealth of the Oxon Hill occupant. Having grown

from £1840 in 1705-06 to £3657 in 1727, personal property of the owner of Oxon Hill declined to 2363 in 1765. John Addison had only 41 slaves in 1765, compared to his father's 75 in 1727. They held almost the same number of slaves at the main house, however: 23 in 1727 and 22 in 1765. This decline in the value of personal property undoubtedly reflects the dispersal of Thomas Addison's estate among several sons. It may also indicate a less economically aggressive style by John Addison, since general economic conditions in Maryland between 1727 and 1765 were much more favorable to the planter than the period from 1706 to 1727 (Aubrey C. Land, Colonial Maryland: A History, Millwood, NY, 1981).

Thomas Addison (c.1740-1774), son of John, appears to have very actively developed the wealth of the estate at Oxon Hill, aided by extremely favorable economic conditions for tobacco planters. By the time of his death in 1774 he possessed the 3663-acre estate at Oxon Hill (see Map 1) as well as the 1613-acre "Gisborough Manor" left him by his uncle, another Thomas, in 1770. Addison would leave Gisborough to his second son, John, when he left the Oxon Hill estate to his eldest, Walter Dulany (MHS, Laurel News Leader, January 26, 1976, Name File). He would leave John an additional 1270 acres and his third son, Thomas Grafton Addison (b. circa 1774) 1200 acres. He arranged for the lease of a house and land at Hart Park, part of Oxon Hill Manor, to his brother John. In all, Thomas Addison owned 7200 acres at his death in 1774. He made no provision for a fourth son, Henry, who was born after his death (MHS, Addison Family Papers; Colonial Abstracts).

Thomas Addison's personal estate in 1774 was inventoried at £5275, more than double the value of his father's personal estate in 1765. Most

2x
9/15/1



of the increase came in the form of additional slaves. He owned 109 slaves, a considerable increase over his father's 41 in 1765, and he held 60 at the manor house alone. He apparently lived a very ostentatious lifestyle, travelling about in a "London coach and four," with matched bay horses with outriders (Castle, 1957). Castle claims that Addison owned 135 slaves, although his inventory lists only 109. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, husband of Addison's sister Eleanor, was very impressed with Oxon Hill Manor. Married at the manor house in 1772, Boucher described the estate as "the most pleasantly situated and circumstanced, an in all respects the most desireable of any I have ever seen in any part of the world." (Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789).

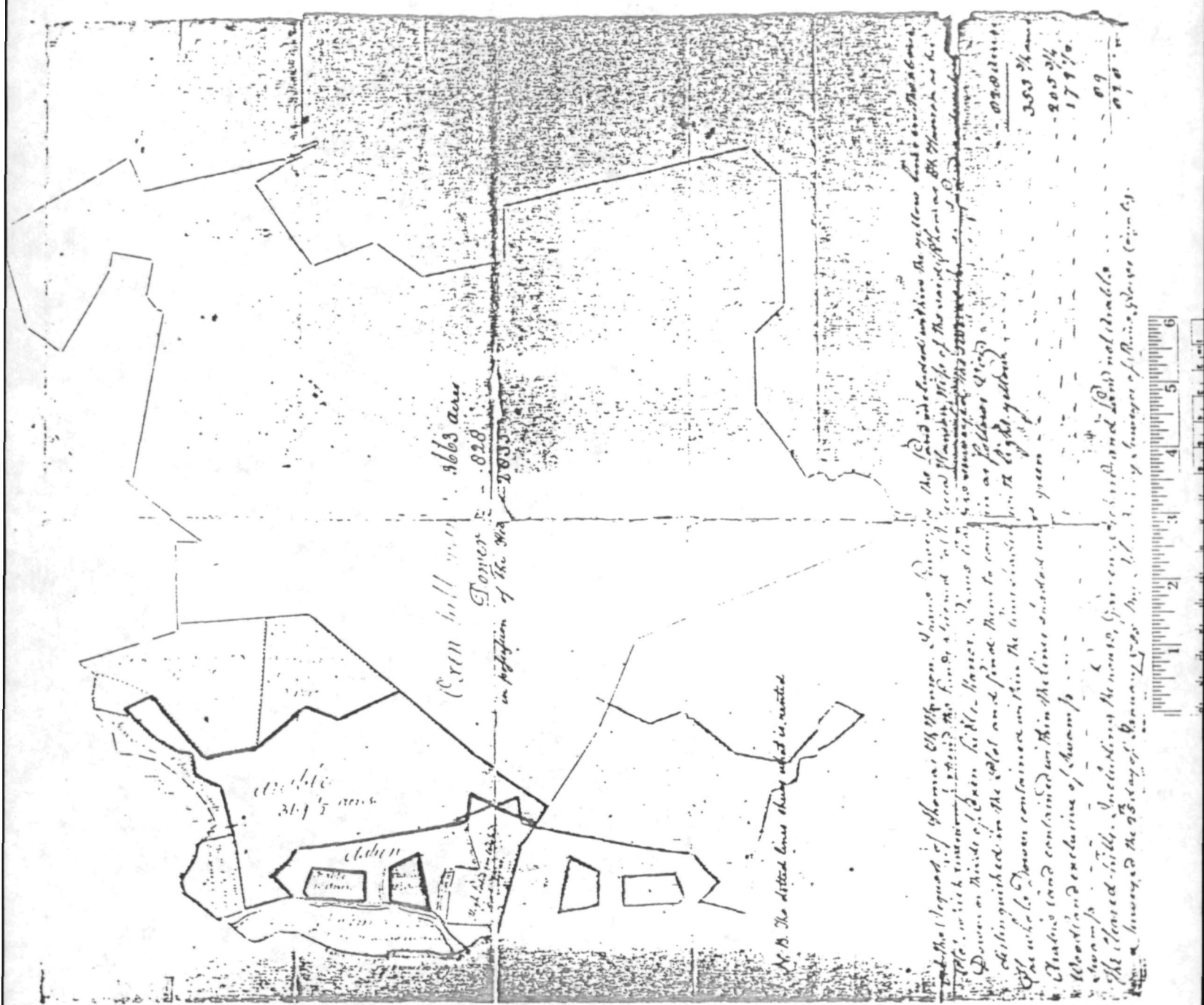
The Reverend Boucher, noted neither for his modesty nor his tact, provides some impressionistic information about the Addisons and Oxon Hill just before the American Revolution. John Addison, Thomas' father, is described by Boucher as "an irregular and intemperate man" who "of course, died young." John's younger brother, Thomas (1714-1770), who owned Gisborough and other tracts, is revealed as an effective army veteran who retired around 1765 to "his little patrimony near Oxon Hill" where he became "moped (sic) and melancholy" and where he "gave himself up to the habits of sottishness and vulgarity." Boucher reports that Thomas became alcoholic, "addicted not only to low company, but to the worst kind of liquor; intoxicating himself daily with a vile spiritous distillation from molasses, there called New England rum." Thomas died within five years of his retirement, Boucher notes (Boucher, pp.51-53).

Boucher became a close friend of another brother and the uncle of Thomas of Oxon Hill, the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789), when Henry brought his two sons to Boucher's school in Caroline County, Virginia, to be tutored. Boucher had developed a favorable reputation as a tutor in Virginia, a reputation which apparently influenced George Washington's decision to send his stepson, Jack Custis, to Boucher's school (Zimmer, pp.68-69). The Reverend Henry Addison was rector of St. John's church at the time, a post he had held since 1742. Like his nephew, Thomas of Oxon Hill, Henry married into the prominent Dulany family by marrying Rachel Dulany Knight, the widowed daughter of Daniel Dulany the elder. Daniel Dulany and his son, dubbed Daniel Dulany the younger, were wealthy and prominent men in Eighteenth Century Maryland. Daniel the younger was Secretary-General of Maryland, a member of the Provincial Council, and a leader of the Maryland bar. Daniel's brother, Walter, was mayor of Annapolis, Commissary General, and a member of the Provincial Council. He was also the father of Rebecca Dulany, Thomas of Oxon Hill's wife. It was at the home of Walter Dulany that Boucher met Thomas' sister, Eleanor, in 1771 (Zimmer, pp.68-69; Aubrey C. Land, The Dulanys of Maryland, Baltimore, 1968).

The Reverend Boucher used his connections with the Addisons and the Dulanys to obtain ^{an appointment?} a living in 1770 as rector of St. Anne's parish in Annapolis, probably Maryland's most powerful religious appointment. While at Annapolis he managed to purchase the estate of John Addison, who is described by Zimmer as "Eleanor's improvident brother." The estate was located near Oxon Hill on the Potomac across from Alexandria. John was forced to sell the estate, called "the Lodge," to pay debts. It contained about 1000 acres of land, some buildings, and 26 slaves.

Eleanor urged Boucher to buy the property in order to keep it in the family, and Boucher bought the estate for £2000 in 1773. Boucher left his parish in Annapolis in the hands of a curate and moved to the Lodge in 1774. He developed the estate considerably, reclaiming land, planting timothy, and creating a "falling garden" on the sloping land along the river across from Alexandria (I have been unable to determine the location of the Lodge). Because he was an ardent loyalist during the Revolution, Boucher left Maryland in 1775, along with his wife, the Reverend Henry Addison, and Addison's son Daniel Dulany Addison (Addison's wife, Rachel Dulany Addison, died in 1774). Boucher's estate was confiscated during the Revolution, at which time it was valued at £4445. The estate contained 1000 acres and 36 slaves (Zimmer, p.342; Land, The Dulanys, p.318).

Walter Dulany Addison (1769-1848) inherited the Oxon Hill Manor estate in 1774 upon the death of his father, Thomas Addison, but at age five was too young to administer the estate. Moreover, his mother had received the manor house and immediate lands as a dower (see Map 2). The house appears to have operated within some kind of geographically or agriculturally defined 89-acre unit in which the house, gardens orchard, and "non-arable" land were located. The arable land within the dower, totaling 353 3/4 acres, may have been located away from the hilly terrain around the house. The "swamp" was probably the land along the Potomac River. Rebecca appears to have resided at the Oxon Hill Manor house from the time of Addison's death in 1774 until, perhaps, 1785 or even later. The documentation on her occupancy is contradictory. Letters from Rebecca to family members were written from "Oxon Hill" in 1781, 1782, and 1788, despite evidence that the house was



MAP 2

rented between 1785 and 1793 (see Chart). Rebecca appears to have been managing the estate in 1776, when she was listed in the census as the head of household and owner of 96 slaves (67 at Oxon Hill and 29 at Mrs Addison's Quarter - see Chart). The consequences of her marriage to Thomas Hawkins Hanson in 1778 for the operation of Oxon Hill are unclear, but the evidence suggests some mismanagement (see Chart). The letters of 1781 and 1782 indicate that she was at Oxon Hill during those years, and the death of John Hanson at the manor house in 1783 suggests that her husband was living at Oxon Hill as well (see Chart).
 / I have been unable to resolve the question of whether or not the house was rented, and to whom, between 1785 and 1792.

Walter Dulany Addison apparently had little involvement with Oxon Hill Manor until he and his new wife, Elizabeth Dulany Hesselius, moved from Harmony Hall in 1793 (see Chart). His presence in the 1790 census as owner of 20 slaves indicates that he had returned to Maryland from England, where he had been attending school (see Chart). From the outset, Addison seemed disinterested in managing the estate, at least along the lines of his father. Murray points out that Addison was an especially pious individual who was impatient of the social activities and obligations of his rank. He refused to attend the theater or balls, and found the expense of Oxon Hill an increasingly annoying burden. The house, Murray explains, "was generally full of guests."

Addison also began to rid himself of some of his property. Sometime soon after he moved into Oxon Hill in 1793, perhaps in 1794 or even later, he gave approximately 400 acres of Oxon Hill (part of Hart Park) to his mother. Murray claims that his mother's estate "had become

seriously embarrassed . . . owing to the mismanagement of his step-father," Thomas Hanson (Murray, pp.89-90). A little later, in 1797, Addison sold his younger brother Henry a 500-acre parcel from Oxon Hill Manor for only £300 (see Chart). Murray's statement that he "gave" the land to Henry because Henry had not been provided for in his father's will is accurate in spirit if not in fact. The deed of sale does reveal that "love and affection" were responsible for the low price (Murray, p.90; see Chart).

The years from 1797 to 1810 were filled with land transactions between Addison and a variety of individuals. In 1797 he sold additional parcels of Oxon Hill Manor to Nicolas Lingan. The deed of sale to Lingan does not specify the acreage taken from the Oxon Hill property, but it does refer to the sale of another part of the estate to Peter Savary at some unspecified earlier date (see Chart). Addison also rented a large tract of the manor, 800 acres, to Elsworth and John Bayne in 1798 (see Chart). In 1801 he rented an unspecified acreage to John Davies. The Davies lease was designed to improve and reclaim land along the Potomac, and references to leases to Francis Kirby and Joseph Thomas suggest that Addison may have hoped to increase the value of his property (perhaps in preparation for sale?)(See Chart).

About 1801 Thomas Hanson offered to sell Hart Park, the same acreage which Walter had given to his mother several years earlier. Addison repurchased the land and in 1802 or 1803 decided to leave the Oxon Hill house and move to the residence at Hart Park. Murray explains Addison's decision as based on three factors: first, that he found the climate at Oxon Hill disagreeable because of its proximity to the Potomac;

*confusion over dower
& Rebecca A's land*

second, that he disliked the expense and social whirl around the house; and, third, that the house at Hart Park, once alterations were completed, would be similar in size to Oxon Hill. Murray also mentions that Addison had been planning to open a school, and that may have had some influence. He opened the school at Hart Park in 1804. (Murray, pp.119-120)

or start of tenancy?
 Addison's disinterest in Oxon Hill may also be reflected in his decision to free his slaves, at least over time. Whether driven by moral scruples or economic realities, Addison apparently wrote his plans into a 1798 will which Murray had in her possession in 1895. Murray claims that Addison began to free his slaves around 1800, and deed records show that he freed two slaves in 1801. Since he owned only 7 slaves in 1800 (see Chart), the decision could not have been as economically difficult as Murray believes. She argues that Addison's decision to free his slaves was immediately harmful to the agricultural success of the estate because the best workers were lost, leaving only the "old, helpless and young slaves." She also reports, however, that Addison made a number of poor investments and that he would ^{not} use the proceeds from the sale of part of the estate in 1810 wisely. Such evidence suggests economic mismanagement, although freeing his slaves would have to be considered economically foolish at that time. (Murray, pp.125-133).

?
 Addison's estate was not ruined by the freeing of his slaves. An estate of 2522 acres (1798) with only 7 slaves (1800) was not earning its income from direct planter management. Rather, it was either not earning much income or it was relying on rentals to tenants. As the chart reveals, Addison was leasing parts of Oxon Hill to various tenants

such as the Baynes and John Davies, and Murray reports the presence of "many tenants" at Oxon Hill during Addison's ownership (Murray, p.136). Since most tenant arrangements were probably oral agreements, the prevalence, structure and consequences of tenancy at Oxon Hill during this period may remain unknown. Gregory Stiverson, in an important study of tenancy on proprietary manors (those owned by Lord Baltimore) in Eighteenth Century Maryland, points out that he was forced to drop his plans to study private tenancy in Maryland because of the paucity of private estate papers. He adds that the relative poverty of most tenants resulted in their personal estates not being inventories at all at the time of their deaths. Those tenants who were inventoried tended to be very poor, although not all tenants were poor. Stiverson informs us that tenancy had become extremely prevalent in Maryland by the 1780s, and even much earlier. Owing mainly to declining access to unpatented land, more and more households had been forced to rent land. By the latter Eighteenth Century, then, over half of all householders in Maryland were tenants rather than freeholders (Stiverson, pp.xi-xiii, 46-47, 175-182). David Curtis Skaggs, in a study which includes Prince George's County as of 1771 (Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753-1776), indicates that only 31.6 % of all householders in the county owned land in that year; that is, 69.4% of all householders were tenants (p.40).

* inventories
are biased
towards
wealth

The situation regarding tenant arrangements at Oxon Hill during the Addison years is still unclear. Without private papers and given the lack of tenant inventories, the subject will be difficult to pursue. I plan to research the inventories for information on tenants mentioned in documents already surveyed - i.e. the Baynes, John Davies, Francis Kirby, Joseph Thomas, possibly Nathaniel Washington. Prince George's

county lists a "John Baynes" and a "John Baynes Jr." in the 1776 census. The former was married, age 50, with no children at home and 29 slaves. The latter was married, age 24, with two daughters and 23 slaves. No John or Elsworth Bayne(s) appear in the 1790 or 1800 Censuses, but the 1810 census lists a J. Bayn in Piscataway Hundred with 12 slaves and an E. Bayn in the same Hundred with 9 slaves.

yes! While the story is not complete, and may never be, it seems safe to conclude that Oxon Hill Manor experienced a significant economic decline in the hands of Walter Dulany Addison. It is possible, however, that the estate shifted from being a slave plantation under more or less direct Addison management to being a plantation operated by tenants, either with or without slaves. It is clear that Addison slowly divested himself of both his land and his slaves after taking over the estate in 1793. He sold an unspecified acreages before 1798, gave 400 acres to his mother, and sold at a low price another 500 acres to his brother Henry. In 1798 his estate is listed as totaling 2522 acres, not the 3663 he inherited in 1774. He reacquired the 400 acres of Hart Park around 1801, but sold 15 acres in 1805 (see Chart). In 1808 Addison bought the 828-acre dower which his mother had received in 1774. Since he was living in the Oxon Hill house in 1798, it seems probable that the 2522 acres listed in the 1798 Tax Assessment included this 828 acres. When Addison sold the 1,328 acres of Oxon Hill to Zachariah Berry in 1810 (see Chart), the dower tract may have been the core of the 879-acre tract purchased in a separate transaction. For reasons which are not stated in the records, Berry bought the 1328 acres in two separate transactions (879 acres and 449 acres) on two separate days, March 16 and March 17, 1810 (see Chart).

Addison kept title to parts of the estate after selling the 1328 acres to Berry. In 1814 he mortgaged the 800 acres leased to the Baynes in 1798 and three years later, in 1817, sold Elsworth Bayne two tracts of "Oxon Hill Manor" totaling 267 acres. In the meantime he had sold 1/2 acre of "Oxon Hill Manor" to Henry Bryan in 1815. The 1814 mortgage and the 1815 and 1817 sales indicate that Addison must have owned over 2500 acres in 1810 when he sold 1328 acres to Zachariah Berry. He was living at Hart Park in 1809, on an estate which contained at least 400 acres of the original 3663 acres. The 500 acres sold to his brother Henry in 1797 brings the total to approximately 3000 acres (1328 plus 800 plus 400 plus 500). The other approximately 600 acres of the original 3663 acres were either sold as part of the unspecified acreages indicated in the Chart, or retained by Addison after he moved from Hart Park to Georgetown in 1809 (Murray, p.163). His attitude toward Oxon Hill must have been ambivalent. Although he has been quoted as stating "Rejoice with me, I am relieved of a great burden" when the house was sold in 1810, his wife Elizabeth had been buried at the Oxon Hill cemetery in 1808 and Addison himself asked to be buried at Oxon Hill when he died in 1848 (Murray, pp.157,191).

The Berry Years, 1810-1888

Patterns of occupancy and land use at the Oxon Hill site in the Nineteenth Century have been difficult to determine, owing to the fact that the owners of the estate from 1810 to 1888 did not themselves live at Oxon Hill. When Zachariah Berry purchased the Oxon Hill house and 1328 acres of the original 3663-acre manor in 1810, he was already a well-established planter living at his "Concord" estate in Queen Anne's District of Prince George's County (Oxon Hill Manor was in Spaldings District). The 1790 census shows him as the owner of 48 slaves and the 1800 census as the owner of 88 slaves (see Chart). Using the number of slaves as a measure of wealth, it is evident that he was one of the largest slaveholders in the county in 1800. The average number of slaves held by the 53.5% of all householders who held any slaves was only 12. The median was 6, reflecting the very uneven distribution in slaveholding. The top 9.5% of slaveowners in Prince George's county in 1800 held 41.2% of all slaves; the bottom 16% held only 1.3% of all slaves. Walter Dulany Addison owned only 7 slaves in 1800, down from the 20 he held in 1790 (1790 Census, 1800 Census).

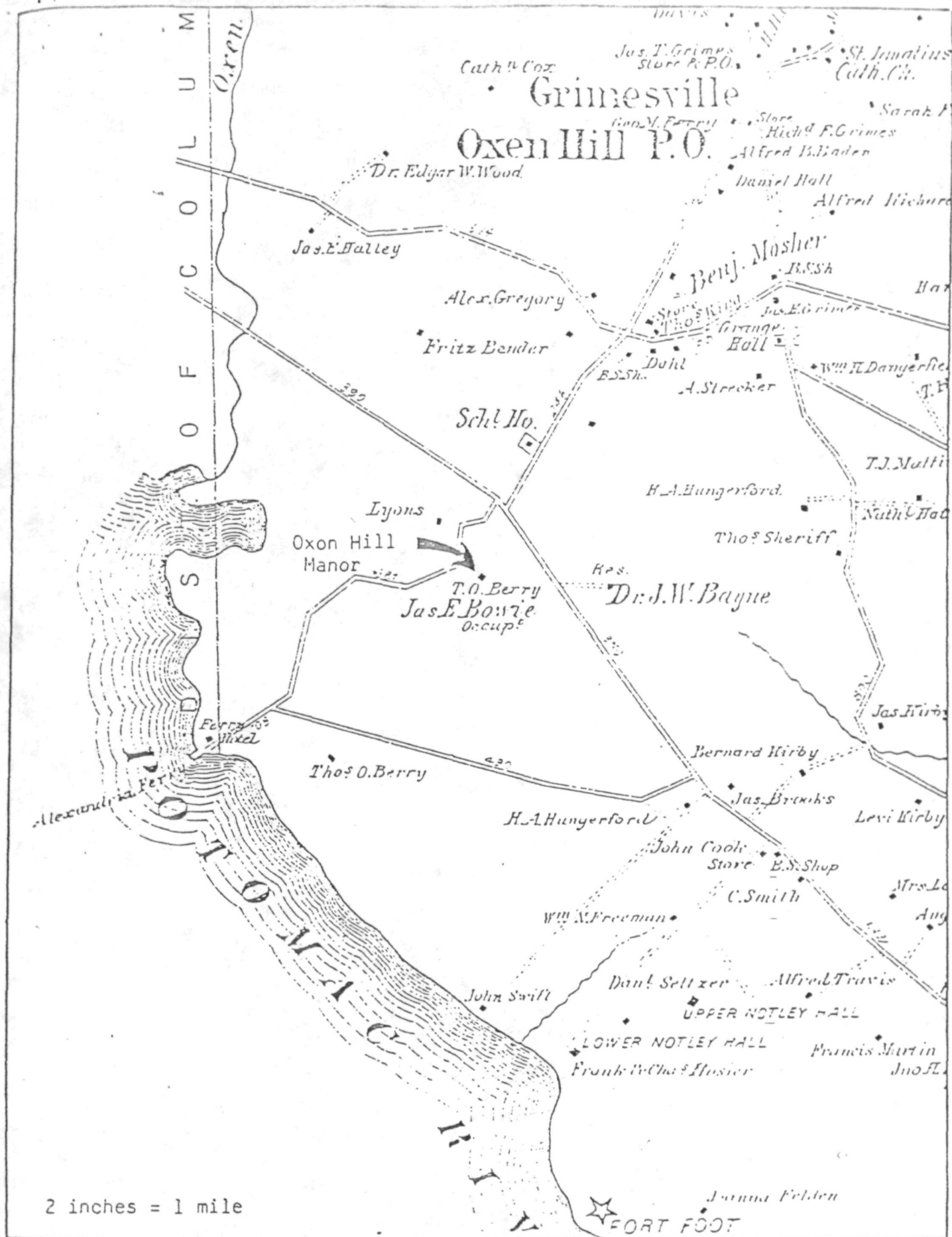
When Berry purchased Oxon Hill in 1810 he owned 72 slaves, that number declining to 60 in 1820, rising to 70 in 1840 and to 75 at his death in 1845 (1820 Census; 1840 Census; MHR, Inventories, 1845). I have been able to learn very little about Zachariah Berry before his death in 1845 (genealogical information on his extended family is available). He died at the age of 97 with a personal estate valued at \$26,345. His 75 slaves were valued at \$18,192, or 65% of the value of his personal estate. This high percentage, along with the 50,000

pounds of tobacco on hand (valued at \$2500) indicate a strong dependence on tobacco as his principle source of income (MHR, Inventories, 1845). The percentage is also somewhat higher than those for the Addisons in the Eighteenth Century, perhaps because the Addisons earned more of their income from livestock. The account of his estate administrator and heir, his son Thomas E. Berry (1815-1879), makes reference to two tenants (Joseph Soper and Levi Ridgeway) and to an overseer (Thomas ^{census} Lowe), but it is probable that these individuals were associated with Berrys Concord property (MHR, Administrator's Accounts, 1846). Additional research into possibly recorded leases between Berry and his tenants may turn up information about Oxon Hill. The inventory does not indicate, unfortunately, the distribution of Berry's personal estate among his various properties.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Thomas E. Berry inherited all of the Oxon Hill property that his father had purchased from Walter Dulany Addison, along with some additional lands along Hynson Creek which Berry had purchased at an unspecified date from a Major Williams. Berry's oldest son and Thomas' older brother, Zachariah Berry Jr. (1785-1859), inherited "Outlet and Concord," referred to in Berry's will as "the plantation on which I live." (MHR, Wills, PC1, p.284). Whether Thomas E. Berry occupied the Oxon Hill house is not absolutely clear from the documents, but the evidence suggests strongly that he did not. He appears in the 1850 census as residing in Queen Anne's District, married to Elizabeth Berry (his niece and the daughter of his elder brother, Zachariah Berry Jr.), with four children and 33 slaves (1850 census; Bowie, p.61). He had already owned 26 slaves in 1840, at the age of 25, indicating that he had a well-established household well before he inherited Oxon Hill in 1845.

In 1860 Berry appears in the agricultural census of both Queen Anne's and Spaldings Districts, but only in the Queen Anne's population census. This indicates, of course, that he did not live in Spaldings District but owned property there (Oxon Hill). The agricultural census shows ⁷that he owned 55 slaves and 1600 acres of land on a farm valued at \$60,000 in Spaldings. This was probably the Oxon Hill property. His 55 slaves was almost eight times the average of 7 slaves for slaveowners in Spaldings District in 1860. Berry is listed as owning 46 slaves at his Queen Anne's District residence, about double the average of 24 slaves for all slaveowners in that district (1860 Census).

In the 1870 census Berry appears only in Queen Anne's District. He owned an estate valued at \$108,960 real property and \$2000 personal property. His son, T. Owen Berry, age 26, appears in Spaldings District as the owner of an estate valued at \$100,000. To possess such an estate at the age of 26 suggests strongly that T. Owen Berry was being listed informally as the "owner" of Oxon Hill in the census, since we know from the documents that he did not actually own Oxon Hill (Prince George's County Courthouse (PGCC), Chancery Papers #1208). He is also listed as living in the Spaldings District, which indicates that he may have resided at Oxon Hill. The 1878 Hopkins map (see Map 3) shows, however, that James E. Bowie was the occupant of the Oxon Hill house in that year. "T.O. Berry" was listed as the owner. The map also shows T.O. Berry as owning property to the south of Oxon Hill (see map 3). Thomas E. Berry appears on the 1878 map (no copy available at this time) as owning 2500 acres and a "Residence" in Queen Anne's District (1870 Census; 1878 Hopkins Map). The fact that the



MAP 3

Site and Environs from Hopkins' 1875 Atlas of Prince George's County

tenants at Oxon Hill in the 1880s referred to T.O. Berry as their landlord suggests that he was at least managing the Oxon Hill property and may have been doing so since at least 1870. Listed in the 1870 census as the owner of the estate, he was not living in the house in 1878. From 1878 until 1888, when Oxon Hill was sold to Samuel Taylor Suit, the estate was held in trust (for details, see Report #2, February 12, 1985).

Since I have not yet completed analysis of the 1870 census, placing T. Owen Berry in the context of other Spaldings District farmer in 1870 is not possible. The following discussion, however, includes an analysis of the 1880 agricultural census. Table 1 includes data from T. Owen Berry's estate in 1870 and compares it to data obtained from the 1880 census.

Documentation researched thus far reveals that between 1878 and 1888 the Berry property at Oxon Hill leased tracts of land to several tenants (Map 3, PGCC Chancery Papers #1208). Tenants included James E. Bowie, listed as the "occupant" of the Oxon Hill house in 1878, Richard W. Streeks, his son David Streeks, his wife Eliza Streeks, John Lanham, George W. Lanham, Mrs. Amelia Lanham, Henry Butler, and James A. Gregory. The records reveal only the annual rents paid by some of the tenants. Richard Streeks paid \$400 in 1882, \$150 in 1883, \$350 in 1884, \$330 in 1885, and \$240 in 1886. George Lanham paid \$150 in 1882, \$180 in 1883, \$400 in 1884, \$300 in 1885, \$300 in 1887, and \$300 in 1888. Mrs. Amelia Lanham paid \$175 in 1882, \$250 in 1883, \$150 in 1884, \$90 in 1885, \$90 in 1886, \$80 in 1887, and \$60 in 1888. Details of these and other leasing arrangements, if they exist, have not yet been uncovered. We do know that Richard Streeks specialized in the production of sweet

1882 partial rents
 400
 150
 175
 \$725 acres?

T.O. Berry on OH 1870-88
 didn't live in house

potatoes in 1884, as indicated by the petition by the Berry sons, T. Owen and Norman, for permission to construct a new potato house at Oxon Hill (see Chart and Report #2). The terms of Streeks' lease are not indicated in the documents.

Since information about the agricultural practices of four of the tenants at Oxon Hill can be obtained from the 1880 agricultural and other censuses, an evaluation of their agricultural production and of other area farmers is both possible and helpful. Three of these individuals - James E. Bowie, Richard Streeks, and George Lanham - appear as tenants in the 1880 census. Henry Butler, who became a tenant at some point in the 1880s, appears in the census as a small landowner. It must be pointed out that the 1880 census does not indicate the actual property on which these individuals were tenants. Moreover, we do not know for certain that individuals who were tenants in 1878, 1883, 1884, etc. were tenants in 1880. We are dealing, therefore, with probabilities, rather than certainties. Table 1 is derived from an analysis which I am making of the 1880 census. It is designed to permit comparisons among the three tenants, the landowner Henry Butler, T. Owen Berry (as of 1870), and the averages and medians for Oxon Hill District farmers in 1880.

Maps 4 and 5 following Table 1 are included to show the boundaries of Prince George's Enumeration Districts from 1850 to 1880. Map 5 shows how a separate Oxon Hill District (#12) was created out of Spaldings District (#6) and Piscataway District (#5). Most of the new Oxon Hill District was carved from Spaldings. Oxon Hill Manor was located very close to the Spaldings-Piscataway boundary line, but

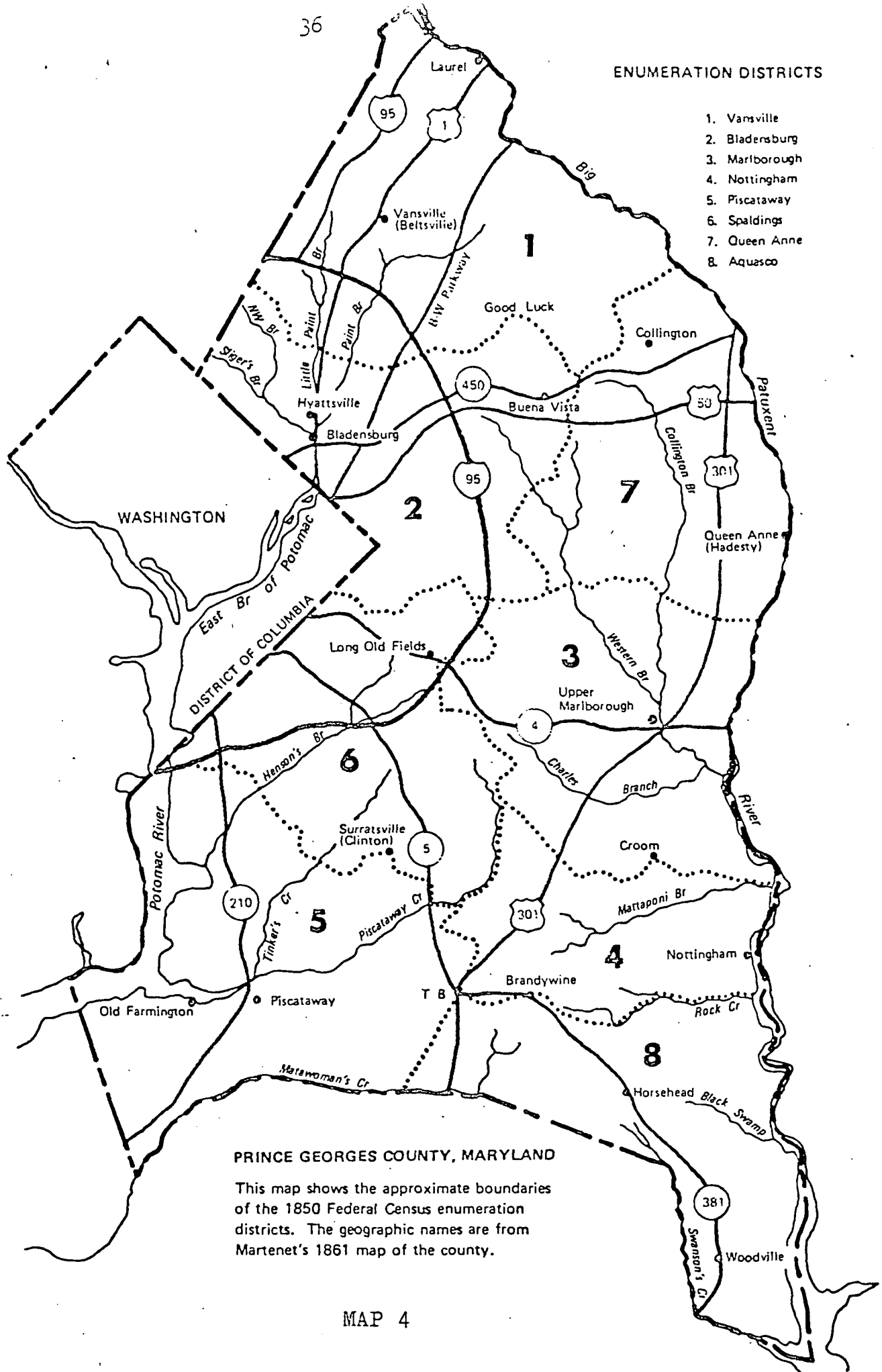
Table 1

Values, Expenditures and Production: 1880 Agricultural Census-Prince Georges County

Item	Bowie	Streeks	Lanham	Butler	Berry ^{include tenancy?}	No. Farms	% All Farms	Average	Median
Acres rented/owned	50	160	225	34	2150	138	100	74	40
Farm value (\$)	1000	3500	8000	2000	100,000	138	100	2294	1500
Farming implements and machinery (\$)	50	200	300	100	700	132	96	115	75
Livestock (\$)	100	800	300	180	5000	135	98	221	150
Fertilizer (\$)	15	50	60	0	---	55	40	58	-
Wages/board (\$)	-	600	400	0	3500	72	52	185	-
Farm products sold, consumed, on hand	250	700	400	200	9500	124	90	338	200
Horses	2	13	8	2	18	130	94	3	2
Milch cows	2	4	2	2	12	96	70	2	2
Other cattle	2	2	3	0	-	79	57	5	-
Butter (lbs)	50	50	100	120	300	76	55	133	-
Sheep	0	0	0	0	150	0	0	0	0
Swine	0	17	5	1	5	111	80	5	4
Corn (acres/bus.)	6/125	100/900	40/705	15/120	-/2500	106	77	13/232	10/-
Wheat "	0	0	40/600	0	500	32	23	9/74	5/-
Irish pots. "	3/60	10/300	(oats)	0	-/300	59	43	2/71	1/-
Sweet pots. "	18/1200	15/1200	18/1200	0	-/1000	58	42	5/317	2/-
Tobacco (acres/lbs)	4/2800	0	0	0	0	19	14	5/2628	3-4/-
Apples (acres/trees)	0	0	0	0	0	27	20	3/197	2/-
Peaches "	0	0	0	0	0	34	25	5/491	3/-
Orchard prods. (\$)	0	0	0	0	0	42	30	100	60
Market gardens (\$)	100	1000	2000	100	1000	108	78	338	200
Forest prods. (\$)	10	0	24	0	600	64	46	36	-

ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

1. Vansville
2. Bladensburg
3. Marlborough
4. Nottingham
5. Piscataway
6. Spaldings
7. Queen Anne
8. Aquasco



PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND

This map shows the approximate boundaries of the 1850 Federal Census enumeration districts. The geographic names are from Martenet's 1861 map of the county.

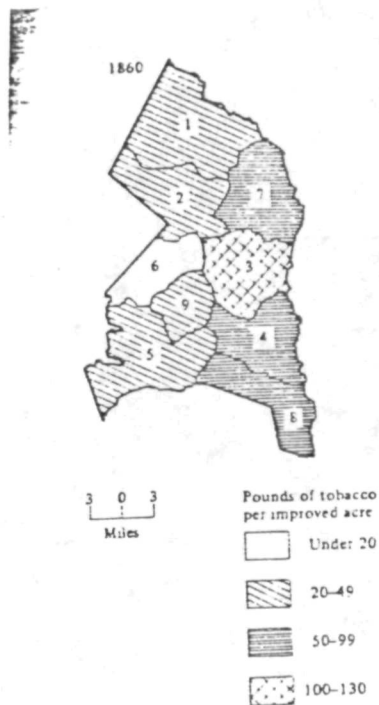


FIGURE 11.3. Tobacco Production, 1860, 1870, 1880

Note: Numbers within the maps indicate election districts.

Source: Outline map indicating election district boundaries for 1860, 1870, and 1880 was developed on a 3-mile scale map of the County from the following sources: G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington, Including the County of Prince George, Maryland* (Philadelphia: F. Bourquin, 1878). S. J. Martenet, *Martenet's Map of Maryland*, atlas ed. (Baltimore: Simon J. Martenet, 1866). Idem., *Martenet's Map of Prince George's County, Maryland* (Philadelphia: T. S. Wagner, 1861). Idem., H. F. Walling, and O. W. Gray, *New Topographical Atlas of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: Stedman, Brown, Lyon, 1873).

MAP 5

the creation of the separate Oxon Hill District in 1874 put the manor squarely within the new district (1850 Census; Donald McCauley, "The Urban Impact on Agricultural Land Use: Farm Patterns in Prince George's County, Maryland, 1860-1880," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Carr, and Edward Papenfuse, eds., Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland, Baltimore, 1977, p.239).

The data in Table 1 is drawn from the agricultural census of Oxon Hill District #12 in 1880. Categories compared are the same as those offered in the census itself. The averages and medians are based on those farms, out of a total of 138 for the district, which actually made the expenditure, possessed the items mentioned, sold the items indicated, or produced the product. The average value of fertilizer purchased, for example, is \$58, based on the purchases of the 55 farms (out of 138), or 40% of total farms, which made such a purchase. Averages based on total farms (138) would be meaningful, but they would create distorted impressions of agricultural activities in the district. The fact that relatively low or high percentages of the 138 farms were or were not engaging in certain activities is itself very revealing of the structure of agriculture in 1880. This should be kept in mind when reading the table. I have not attempted to make a complete evaluation of the data available in the table at this time.

must have % of those buying to see if common or not OK!

James E. Bowie, the occupant of Oxon Hill Manor house in 1878, was listed as a "farmer," age 43, married to a woman named Frances (Frances Whitmore - married in 1860: Helen W. Brown, Index of Marriage Licenses, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1777-1886, Baltimore, 1973) whose occupation was listed as "keeping house." They had 7 children ranging in age from 1 month to (18? - census blotched). The 18-year old son,

James, was a "farm laborer." In most categories of the agricultural census, Bowie was well below both the average and median Oxon Hill District farmer. He rented only 50 acres, but it is not known if his lease was at Oxon Hill at this time. Bowie produced considerably more Irish and especially sweet potatoes than the average Oxon Hill District farmer. His 3 acres of Irish potatoes put him among the District's top 17% of all producers (59 farms) and his 18 acres of sweet potatoes among the top 7% (58 farms). His tobacco acreage made him one of only 19 tobacco farmers, his 4 acres being slightly below the average 5 acres and about even with the median 3-4 acres. His \$100 of market garden income was well below both the average and the median for Oxon Hill's 108 market gardeners. The \$100 figure, of course, was considerably more than the \$0 income which 30 (22%) of the 138 farmers earned from market gardening.

Richard Streeks, the tenant for whom a potato house was probably built somewhere on Oxon Hill Manor in 1884, was a more prosperous farmer than Bowie. His farm was valued at \$3500, over three times that of Bowie, and well above both the average and the median for the District. It should be kept in mind that these figures include all landowners as well as tenants (41 of the 138 farmers, or 30%, were tenants). Streeks appears to have earned his income from corn (100 acres), Irish potatoes (10 acres), and sweet potatoes (15 acres). His \$1000 earnings from market gardening placed him among the top 7% of all farmers earning income from market gardening. He was tied for the sixth largest of the 108 market gardening farmers. NO.

George Lanham was one of the most prosperous farmers in Oxon Hill District. Renting 225 acres of land, he possessed a farm worth \$8000, fully eight times that of James E. Bowie. His farm was among the top

6% in Oxon Hill District, placing him in a tie for the fourth largest farm (by value) in the District. Four other farms were valued at \$8000, two at \$9000, and one at \$11,245. Lanham's income derived from corn, oats (a rare producer of oats in the District), and sweet potatoes. His \$2000 earned from market gardening tied him with another producer for top market gardening farmer in Oxon Hill District. Only one other individual, a landowner, earned as much as \$2000.

Henry Butler, an owner of only 34 acres in 1880, became a tenant of the Berrys at Oxon Hill at an unspecified date in the 1880s. The documentation reveals no details on Butler's leasing arrangement. Butler's economic status in 1880 appears similar to that of Bowie. He fell below both the average and median in most categories, although his \$2000 farm placed him close to the average and above the median. Given the value of his farm, his \$100 earned from market gardening seems low. He did not produce large amounts of any crop apart from corn, where his 15 acres placed him close to the average 13 acres. His bushels per acre production of corn, however, was below average. *like Shreeks!*

T. Owen Berry, if his estate values for 1870 are compared to those of the 1880 census, would have been the most prosperous farmer in Oxon Hill District by an overwhelming margin (Note: Berry does not appear in the 1880 agricultural census for Oxon Hill District). His \$100,000 estate was almost nine times more valuable than the most valuable 1880 farm (\$11,245). No Oxon Hill District farmer in 1880 owned more than 729 acres of land, and none paid more than \$600 for wages and board. Berry owned 2150 acres and paid \$3500 for wages and board. Berry owned more livestock and produced more corn and wheat than the average 1880

farmer. His production of Irish and sweet potatoes was above average, although similar to that of Bowie, Streeks, and Lanham. These individuals may have been farming, in 1880, the same land Berry farmed in 1870. Berry owned 150 sheep, compared to the zero figure for all of Oxon Hill District in 1880. Like the tenants, he earned no income from orchard production. His \$1000 from market gardening was a high figure which would have placed him among the top 7% of market gardeners in 1880. His \$600 from forest products and his \$9500 for all farm products sold, consumed or on hand was over three times the value of Oxon Hill District's largest 1880 farmer (\$3000). Since Berry was not earning a dramatically high income from market gardening, he must have earned this high sum from his crops and his animals. He grew no tobacco.

A number of observations might be made regarding the structure of agriculture in Oxon Hill District as of 1880. Among the 138 farmers listed at Oxon Hill in 1880, only 41, or 30%, were tenants. This contrasts strikingly with the 69.4% found by David Curtis Skaggs (Roots of Maryland Democracy) for Prince George's County in 1771 and the over 50% discovered by Gregory Stiverson (Poverty in a Land of Plenty) for Maryland in 1783. Tenants, on the average, rented 67.8 acres of land in 1880, only slightly less than the 76.4 acres possessed by the average landowner. Among the tenants, 61% held less than 50 acres and 73% less than 100 acres. Richard Streeks, with 160 acres, was among the top 27% of all tenants, and among the top 10% of all farmers (tenants and landowners). George Lanham's 225 acres placed him among the top 12% of tenants and among the top 5% of all farmers. These figures indicate clearly that tenants in Oxon Hill District tended to farm more land than the landowners. Both Streeks

100% difference

and Lanham were farming a great deal more land than either the average (74 acres) or the median (40 acres). Among all 138 landowners and tenants in the Oxon Hill District in 1880 well over half farmed less than 30 acres.

Donald McCauley, a student of Prince George's County agriculture in the Nineteenth Century (McCauley, "Limits of Change," 1973, and "Urban Impact," 1977), notes that the traditional economy based on tobacco and slavery peaked just before the Civil War in Prince George's County and tended to undergo a significant change after the War. Like much of the South, Prince George's County suffered considerable dislocation during the War, resulting in lower land values and labor disorganization. The agricultural economy of the county, however, recovered, but in a new form, much more rapidly than in most areas of the South. McCauley attributes the recovery to the growing and readily accessible markets in the Baltimore and Washington, D.C. areas, and to an associated widespread availability of farm credit. With the loss of population, and especially black population, to the urban centers, small farms proliferated after 1860. Lower land values made purchasing land somewhat more feasible than ever before. The average farm size in Prince George's County in 1880 was 159 acres, considerably more than the average 74 acres for Oxon Hill District. About 71% of all farmers in the county were landowners, similar to Oxon Hill's 70%. About half of the tenants (16% of the total) in the county were sharecroppers, compared to only 12% (5 of 41) of Oxon Hill's tenants. McCauley points out that sharecropping was much more prevalent throughout Maryland as a whole (21%) and throughout the South in general (26%) than in Prince George's

County in 1880. Credit, he explains, made the difference in the county, since mortgages could replace crop liens.

McCauley also argues that the availability of credit reduced the rigidity of Prince George's County farming practices by permitting a "more efficient market response" after the Civil War. The most notable change was the tendency not to return to tobacco as the overwhelmingly dominant market crop; rather, there was a trend toward greater diversification, toward more corn, potatoes, dairying, and truck farming. Credit, available urban markets, and an improved transportation system fueled this process. Tobacco production in 1880 continued below the 1860 level, and tended to concentrate along the Patuxent River where the soil was most suited for the crop.

Market gardening and orchard production for urban markets were the most noticeable areas of expansion after 1860. Their value increased from \$35,853 in 1860 to \$188,701 in 1880 (in constant 1860 dollars). Prince George's County showed considerable regional specialization in the increased production of milk, cheese, butter, and truck crops, but almost all areas reduced the amount of livestock held by the average farmer (McCauley, "Urban Impact," 228-250).

why?
so why do it?
The census analysis which I have completed thus far does not permit comparison or evaluation of McCauley's conclusions for Prince George's County as they relate to Oxon Hill District. An examination of tobacco production for Spaldings District in 1850 and 1860 and for Oxon Hill District in 1880, however, is possible. It must be kept in mind that Oxon Hill District did not exist as a separate unit before the 1880 census, making precise comparisons between 1860 and 1880 impossible. Since Oxon Hill District was carved mostly from Spaldings, however,

comparing Spaldings in 1860 with Oxon Hill in 1880 allows an approximation. (See Maps 4 and 5) In 1860, the average farmer who planted tobacco in Spaldings produced 8,209 lbs of the crop, compared to 2,628 lbs in Oxon Hill in 1880. In 1860, however, only a small percentage of all farms (16%) grew tobacco (22 of 134 farmers), compared to a similar percentage (14%) in Oxon Hill District in 1880 (19 of 138). The 1850 Spaldings District census indicates that average production per planter was 7,460 lbs, similar to the 1860 average, but that 44% (100 of 226) of all farmers grew tobacco.

The small number of total producers in the 1860 census (134) suggests that the census may not be complete for the Spaldings District. If so, the 134 farmers may not be a representative sample of the real total for the district. The average number of pounds per producer, on the other hand, suggests that the census is complete or that it is a representative sample. The small number of total farmers, declining from 226 to 134 in a decade, may reflect population loss. Such uncertainty makes corroboration of McCauley's argument regarding the decline in tobacco dependence after the Civil War very difficult. Comparing the figures for tobacco production in Spaldings in 1850 with those for Oxon Hill District in 1880, however, demonstrates a very clear shift away from tobacco dependence. From 44% of all farmers in 1850 the figure declined to 14% of all farmers in 1880. It is perhaps ironic that the individual most closely associated with agriculture at the Oxon Hill Manor house, James E. Bowie, was one of the few tobacco producers in Oxon Hill District in 1880.

Summary

Oxon Hill Manor appears to have operated mainly as a tobacco plantation through most of its history, at least until the Civil War. In

its earliest years it also produced a good deal of livestock. The owners of the estate, the Addisons, managed the plantation either directly or through overseers, using their wealth to join Maryland's economic, social, and political elite. Although Thomas Addison dispersed his landholdings among several sons in 1727, he was able to pass on an estate of over 3800 acres to his son John. Despite extremely favorable economic conditions, John did not improve the estate economically before his death in 1765. His son, Thomas, clearly did not follow this pattern. Boosted by the most propitious of economic conditions, Thomas Addison more than doubled the slaveholdings of his father and, according to one contemporary observer, developed Oxon Hill Manor into one of the most elegant and wealthy estates of the age.

The estate experienced a transition after Thomas Addison's death in 1774 which ultimately witnessed its breakup and sale. Part of the manor was bequeathed to Addison's wife, Rebecca, as a dower, and part was left to Addison's eldest son, Walter Dulany Addison. Between 1774 and 1793, when Walter moved into the manor house as an adult, the estate was managed, poorly evidence suggests, by Rebecca and her new husband after 1778, Thomas Hanson. The manor house may have been leased from 1785 to 1792, but the documentation is contradictory on this question. When Walter Dulany Addison took up residence at the manor in 1793 he owned only 20 slaves (1790 census). He must have made some arrangement with his mother to occupy the house, since it was technically her property until Addison purchased the 828-acre dower in 1807.

Addison did not operate Oxon Hill as his predecessors had done. Owing to his personal tastes, his interests as a minister, and his lack

of financial acumen, he slowly divested himself of both his land and slaves. In 1800 he owned only 7 slaves. During the 1790s and until he left the manor house in 1802 or 1803 to move to a nearby residence at Hart Park, he made several leases. The 1801 lease of land along the Potomac to John Davies indicates that he was interested in improving the estate, even if he had become disinterested in being a slaveholder. His decision to sell 1328 acres of the estate, including the house, in 1810 is not surprising given the history of his actions up to that time.

Precise information on land use at the Oxon Hill site has not been discovered as yet, owing mainly to the paucity of private papers.

*but Tobacco
not Potomac* Since Prince George's County was one of the nation's principal tobacco-producing counties during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, it seems reasonable to assume that tobacco was the dominant crop at the plantation. It is probable that tobacco was produced in large quantities under either direct management or through tenant arrangements.

Oxon Hill was probably leased throughout the Berry ownership period from 1810 to 1888, since the owners of the estate did not reside at the manor house. Tobacco was probably the dominant cash crop; at least Zachariah Berry was a large tobacco planter in the Queen Anne's District of the county. If the agricultural activities of the tenants listed in the 1880 census are representative, Oxon Hill Manor had shifted away from tobacco after the Civil War, toward corn, grains, Irish and sweet potatoes, and market gardening. One tenant, James E. Bowie, continued to grow a substantial amount of tobacco. The legal complications surrounding the estate from 1778 to 1888 may have obstructed its economic success. As yet we do not know why various individuals purchased parts of the estate between 1879 and 1888, nor why Samuel

REPORT NO. 3: March 29, 1985

FROM HISTORIC PROPERTIES

The purpose of this report is to provide a chronological chart which outlines the patterns of occupancy and land use at Oxon Hill Manor between 1710-11 and 1895. The chart is accompanied by an analytical commentary which assesses the material provided in the chart by placing it within the larger context of the history of Prince George's County. The chart will indicate what is known about occupancy and land use on specific dates or during specific periods, as well as with whom the property was associated at the time. I have made no explicit attempt to offer a detailed synthesis of my findings; rather, I have summarized data from various sources, suggesting possible interpretations and periodization.

A Note on Sources and Research to Date

Report No. 2, February 12, 1985, focused on the information to be obtained from available cartographic data, with some attention to data from deeds, court records, genealogical sources, and scattered secondary sources. This report adds data obtained from more extensive research into land records, court records, census records, private papers, and various secondary sources.

From the land records I have been able to construct a more complete history of occupancy and agricultural practices at the Oxon Hill property, as will be indicated in both the chart and the commentary to follow. Court records have provided additional data on the economic and social status of individuals associated with Oxon Hill. Among these materials, called probate records, are inventories, administrator's accounts by the executors of the estates of the deceased, and

Taylor Suit bought it in ¹⁸⁸⁵~~1788~~. Additional research may clarify some of this. When the estate's house burned in 1895, according to Guy Castle it was vacant.